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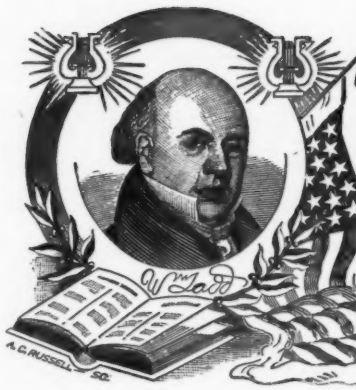

The Advocate of Peace.

BOSTON, SEPTEMBER, 1900.

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THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

VOL. LXII. BOSTON, SEPTEMBER, 1900. No. 8.

THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY,
PUBLISHERS,
NO. 3 SOMERSET STREET, BOSTON, MASS.

MONTHLY, ONE DOLLAR PER YEAR.

The Chinese Disasters and Perils.

The news that the ministers at Pekin and those with them had not perished by the horrible deaths so circumstantially related, and their rescue from peril, have brought immense relief to everybody. But this sense of relief cannot take away the profound grief which every right mind feels at thought of the whole dreadful situation, its causes and possible consequences. We shall not repeat what was said in our last issue about the events of the past fifty years which have led up to the present tragedy. The lessons there sought to be inculcated are, however, those which above all others the civilized world ought deeply to take to heart, if it wishes to escape a second and still more horrible act of the drama in the near future. But these are just the lessons which there is scarcely a sign that any European nation has the least intention of profiting by. Their only thought is to "push on!" No matter who or what is wrecked, "push on!" Christian men repent and make restitution when they have done wrong; Christian nations never do!

The deplorable events over which we have waited, and still wait, with bated breath, illustrate once more the certainty with which disasters follow an unrighteous course of conduct. It is rare that such an accumulation of disasters is seen as in this case. Many lives, both of Chinese and of foreigners, have been sacrificed; and sacrifice of life through selfish and unjust conduct is not far from the acme of wickedness. Law and order have been destroyed, and chaos reigns, detrimental alike to China and to all the nations involved. Business has been deranged, and will feel the evil effects for a long time to come, for business quite as much as anything else depends upon good feeling and trust.

The missions have been broken up, their property destroyed, the missionaries killed or compelled to abandon the field. The native Christians have been either massacred or driven by fear into hiding or renunciation of their new faith. The fruit of more than fifty years of difficult, patient, self-sacrificing Christian work, which promised large results in the near future, has been swept away in a few weeks, some of it forever. And to shield their unworthy heads from the condemnation of Christendom, the ambitious politicians and conscienceless plunderers of territory undertake to lay the blame for the whirlwind of disasters upon the missionaries' heads, and to give them worldly-wise advice as to how missionary work ought to be done, or rather not done. This stoppage of Christian evangelization in China is the greatest of all the disasters which the European policy of aggression has brought on. Many years must pass before the ground can be fully retaken, and Chinese opposition to Christianity is almost certain to be stronger and more stubborn than in the past. A general and a whole allied army will hereafter be seen behind every missionary.

Beyond the disasters already befallen, the perils of the situation are many. The whole of China is in violent ferment, fresh uprisings are not unlikely, and a speedy restoration of quiet and order is hardly to be expected. If for these reasons the powers undertake to divide up the country, or to put it for a time under an allied government, Chinese fury may be expected to continue, and Mr. Stead's prophecy of three hundred years of war will be found wrong only in its extravagance. If the powers quarrel over the size of the indemnity to be levied, as is not impossible, serious mischief may come in this way. If the indemnity is demanded in territory and extended "spheres of influence," that will only create the conditions of another "Yellow Cyclone" in the future. If this course is insisted on by the European powers, how will the United States, dominated by its present spirit, keep its feet out of the entanglement? If Germany declares war to avenge her massacred minister, and carries it on in the relentless, inhuman spirit advised by Emperor William, and repeats the history of Chiao-Chou, the prospect is unspeakably dark and confused.

It is difficult to see how the gathered powers, with their armies on Chinese soil and their fleets along the coast, dominated as they have been and are by the

spirit of greed and mutual jealousy, will be able to get out of the *cul-de-sac* into which their "criminal aggression" has brought them, without falling afoul of one another. Nothing but fear of the ruin involved will save them from this fate. The friction between Russia and Japan was at the fighting point before the Chinese uprising began. With large armies mobilized and on the spot, will they draw off without conflict? Will Russia let go her increasing hold on North China? Will England, Germany and Japan combine to force her to do so? Whichever way one turns seems to be a path of peril.

To suppose that the Eastern trouble, multiplied in so many directions, the outgrowth of so many years of rank and unblushing egoism and aggression, is to end short, and peace and order to return at once, is to assume a sudden and wholesale abandonment of hitherto prevailing principles and policies, of which none of the European powers give the least sign. To expect the Chinese government to regain immediate control of its people and to guarantee the safety of foreigners, while the powers whose aggressions brought on the conflict stand threateningly over her in assumed innocence and make no renunciation whatever of their own past iniquities, is to expect the impossible and absurd. The guilt of China for the recent wrongs is very great, but the guilt of the "greedy foreigner," who, as Dr. F. E. Clark just returned from China says, brought on the conflict, is very much greater. The leader in the guilt ought to be the first to make confession and restitution, and to withdraw from the ruinous conflict. This is the true course to a quick as it is to an enduring peace, as also to the highest honor and fame. This is the doctrine which every friend of justice and peace ought to proclaim on the housetops of the world. There was never more need of clean truth than now. That which is solid and lasting ought not to be sacrificed to mere temporary expedients, such as might, controlled by the spirit of self-interest and ambition, is always setting up. A temporary and delusive peace may be enforced at the cannon's mouth, but such a peace the cannon's mouth will again break. If an abiding and trustworthy peace is to follow the Chinese storm, the Master of Peace must be allowed to set his foot on the waves and utter his voice in the hearing of the nations.

Position of the United States in the Chinese Crisis.

There is one ray of political light and hope in the midst of the Eastern darkness. Mr. Hay has publicly announced to the world that the policy of the United States in reference to China will be the maintenance of the integrity of the empire and of the "open door." This is in line with his previous declarations, now reiterated and emphasized because of the new and critical circumstances. There is said to be a general acquiescence of the European powers in the position taken by our government, England strongly supporting it.

Restoration of order, reparation for the wrongs done and guarantees for the future are all that our government proposes to demand of China. She is to be treated as an independent, sovereign nationality, having the right to her own territory and government, and entitled to the protection of international law as well as subject to its restraints. Whether this policy can be carried out and the integrity of China preserved depends to a large extent on Russia and Germany. If they insist on considering themselves formally at war with China, of which at this moment there are grave fears, the position which our government has taken will be difficult to maintain, even with the strong coöperation of Great Britain and the other powers involved; for the influence of all these powers is seriously compromised by their previous aggressions.

The position which Secretary Hay has taken is essentially just in all its main features. If it can be consistently and pacifically carried out, it will contribute no little to a speedy and satisfactory settlement of the existing difficulties and do much to prevent a recurrence of similar trouble in the future. The only thing that stands in the way of its success is the rapacity and vengefulness of the other nations. China will certainly respond with sincerity and gratitude, as her previous approaches to our government make clearly evident. From the very beginning of the convulsion, the United States made clear the course which it would take. A much worse state of affairs would otherwise now exist. If the commanders of the other warships had followed the American officer's example and refrained from firing on the forts at Taku, it is entirely possible that no allied army would have had to go to Pekin.

It is an instructive fact that in the allied movement diplomatic precedence has been given to the United States. This would hardly have been expected of the governments which have by their folly made the Chinese question, and hold such "spheres of influence" on the coast. It cannot be accounted for on the ground of military superiority or strength on the part of the United States. We do not believe the cat's-paw principle has had anything real to do with it. This precedence illustrates forcibly the moral power and leadership which right and just conduct naturally gives. Our government has never seized any Chinese port or territory. It has declared itself in favor of the maintenance of the integrity of China, both territorially and governmentally. This attitude, whatever its motives may have been, has kept the United States out of the jealousies created among European powers by their grasping policies, and has left our government the only one whom all were

willing to trust to take the lead in determining the policy to be pursued during the crisis.

But this is not all. The respect which this country has shown the Chinese nationality, in regard to both its territory and its government, has naturally led China to feel that the United States is the only friend she has among the powers. Every proposal, therefore, which she has made looking towards a settlement of the trouble has naturally been made to our government. President McKinley was first asked to mediate. When he published the conditions on which mediation would be undertaken, Chinese officials knew and believed that this was straightforward, honest diplomacy, and not a mere trick, the end of which was to be a slice of territory. Later he was asked to name a commissioner to negotiate for the ending of the conflict, and Mr. Conger was proposed by Li Hung Chang as a satisfactory agent. The caution shown in all these matters by the Administration has not been interpreted in China as having any sinister purposes behind it, but as showing only that the United States desires a just and permanent settlement, promising security alike to China and the rest of the world.

The commanding position given by the friendship and trust thus shown by both the European powers and by China has so far been used by our government with marked wisdom and tact. If Mr. Hay's policy can be successfully carried through and all the European powers brought to declare candidly in favor of the integrity of China and to give up honestly all purpose of further aggression, the effect on the temper of China will be very great. The "Yellow Peril" will no longer be perilous. Hatred of foreigners will be greatly diminished. The way will soon open for the return of the missionaries. The danger of repetition of the present uprising will be allayed, and anxiety lest war break out between the powers over the partition of China or commercial supremacy in the East will be henceforth groundless.

This would be a diplomatic attainment of the first order, not simply for the intellectual ability displayed, but much more for the high moral principle exhibited. There has been in the past, in diplomatic proceedings, intellectual shrewdness and finessing *ad nauseam*, but often not much moral sense. We sincerely hope our government will adhere faithfully to its declared purposes, and not allow itself to be swept into the current of unrighteous policy which has brought on the present upheaval. It will be vastly better, more honorable and more profitable for the nation to have made the magnanimous effort and fail than to get half of China in an unscrupulous scramble for material aggrandizement. We believe that the heart of the nation is in profound sympathy with the "Hay Doctrine," and if this policy is carried out in a kindly, patient spirit it will not cost the land any blood.

The Assassination of King Humbert.

Will the governments and heads of nations, and those who put them and sustain them in power, never learn the plainest lessons of the hour, written in the sharpest characters on the very sky? The assassination of King Humbert of Italy recalls the long series of anarchistic horrors which the last two decades have furnished. It again raises also the questions, What progress has been made in the eradication of anarchy, and by what means may it be successfully dealt with?

That no progress has been made in its suppression is perfectly evident. It is stronger and more widely spread at the present moment than ever before. Even since the death of King Humbert two attempts upon the lives of sovereigns have taken place. Hanging, shooting and electrocuting individual members of the anarchist associations who have committed deeds of violence have not had the least perceptible deterrent effect upon others. On the contrary, they seem to have exactly the opposite influence. Certainly, the number of anarchists who are ready singly or by plot to take the lives of those in authority was never greater than now.

The evil cannot be suppressed by force. It must be *cured;* and to be cured its causes must be removed. So long as these remain, and are each year either multiplied or intensified, the anarchistic organism — for it is an organism — will continue to flourish and do its deadly work.

It is not an accident that Italy furnishes more of the murderous class of anarchists than any other country, nor that Russia comes next in the unenviable list. Of all the countries of Europe, Italy, relatively to her capacity to sustain her population, is the most heavily burdened with taxes to support great armaments and to meet expenses incurred in disastrous colonial undertakings. In certain districts of the peninsula and of Sicily, poverty has become hopelessly abject. But the government must still have its war penny, though the people die for lack of bread. The folly of trying to maintain ancient military prestige, and the shadowy glory of clinging to the Triple Alliance and keeping up a show of being a first-class war-power, proceeds in utter oblivion of the distress and frowning discontent thereby created among the masses of the people. Russia spends annually $275,000,000 on her army and navy, though thirty per cent. of her children die in infancy, the chief cause being lack of nourishment. One cannot think of the Russian peasantry without mental pictures of black bread, miserable hovels and vile clothing.

Out of these conditions come the anarchists. The germs of the evil, whether created by the conditions or found in the wicked and lawless intent of individuals, would not grow and develop to any alarming extent but for the soil which forces them into life.

Anarchism is not individualistic lawlessness, except in rare cases. It is a social theory of the wrongfulness of all government, which has in the main grown out of bad and oppressive government acting upon minds possessed of some sense of individual rights and equality. Hence its claim of virtue, its courage and its disregard of death.

If governments had been uniformly good, serving the people instead of fleecing and devouring them, anarchism would never have existed, as it has not yet existed to any serious extent in free and unmilitarized countries. It originated and has developed in those countries where governmental burdens in recent years have grown heaviest and most vexatious. Government to the anarchists, who are sharers in the intelligence of the age, means on the one hand ease, luxury, show, unfeeling demands upon the people; on the other subjection, hunger, rags, perpetual privation and suffering, and slow death. It is the protest of ordinarily, though by no means always, narrow and unmoralized thinking and feeling against the enormous and distressing inequalities of condition found in the militaristic countries. In this respect it closely resembles the larger socialistic protest against private capitalism. Where it draws to itself lawless elements and grows passionate and violent, it strikes at the crowned heads and others in high positions, with little discrimination as to their character, because they are the visible embodiment of the principles and systems whose prevalence brings the ruinous evils against which they feel themselves impelled to fight.

We have no sympathy with anarchism, either in its theory of the wrongfulness of all government or in its violent and destructive acts. Its method is radically wrong. Its assassination of crowned heads and high dignitaries does nothing to remove the evils of which it justly complains. It makes the evil conditions worse — worse for the anarchists themselves and for everybody else. Violence produces and sustains violence. Satan never casts out Satan. But we have less than no sympathy with the selfish and ambitious governmental systems and methods which create huge armaments, crush and degrade peoples, and thus furnish the soil out of which anarchism grows. These are the evils against which all good men must protest and work until they are finally condemned and removed by the overwhelming power of a righteous and humane public opinion. While these remain, arresting and killing individual anarchists is like treating the separate eruptions on the skin while the disease is raging everywhere in the blood.

Anarchism will remain a permanent phenomenon in our civilization while militarism with its devouring and degrading burdens remains. It will spread with the expansion of the latter. Our own country, if present tendencies continue, will feel its force more severely than in the past. It will grow bolder and more violent. It has already learned the lesson of steel, gunpowder and dynamite, taught by the governments. Each new exhibition of its madness will be greater than the last. Its victims will increase. The dread of its secret cunning craftiness will hang darkly over society. Uneasy will lie every head that wears a crown.

This is no pleasing picture of the coming days; but it is one which must be faced. All those who uphold and promote the growing militarism of the day are makers and promoters of anarchism. They must be prepared to reap, or see reaped, the fruit of their evil sowing. The only way of escape is to change the sowing.

Editorial Notes.

Ratification of Hague Convention.

The Hague Convention establishing the permanent international court of arbitration has now been ratified by the United States, Great Britain, Russia, France, Italy, Austro-Hungary, Spain, Mexico, Holland and Roumania, ten powers in all. Article 28 of the Convention provides that when nine powers have ratified it, the Council of Administration, to consist of the Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Foreign Ministers accredited to The Hague, shall be organized as soon as possible. The first meeting of the Council will be held, it is understood, this month, and the Bureau of the Court will then be established by the appointment of a general secretary and other officials. The Emperor of Russia has already named four persons to be members of the Court. They are Mr. de Martens, of the University of St. Petersburg, so well known for his writings on international law and for his services on tribunals of arbitration; Mr. Pobedonostzef, the procurator of the Holy Synod, one of the ablest and best known lawyers in Russia; Mr. de Mouravieff, the present Minister of Justice, brother of the late Foreign Minister; and Mr. de Frisch, president of the Legislative Department of the Council of the Empire. The Court is now assured. The ratifications of the other powers may be expected shortly, and the members of the Court for the other nations will doubtless all be appointed before the close of the year.

Since the foregoing note was written President McKinley has asked ex-Presidents Harrison and Cleveland to serve as members of the court for the United States. Every citizen of the country will be pleased if they accept. Their large experience in international affairs and their high ability will make them ideal members of the Court. Their presence in this great international judiciary would give the United States an unsurpassed influence in its work and development; we mean, along right lines of judicial ability, fairness and independence. We hope nothing whatever will prevent either of them from accepting.

Great Gain for Peace.

In the course of a Fourth of July address at Leipzig before the American Colony and the American students, Hon. Andrew D. White, our ambassador to Germany, spoke in the strongest terms of the work and value of the Hague Conference. He said: "The results of that Conference were of infinitely more value than most people realize. It greatly increased the means of deferring and preventing war; it provided a tribunal of arbitration admirably constituted; it diminished the horrors of war by the extension of the Geneva rules from warfare on land to warfare on sea; and it greatly improved the laws of war in the direction of humanity. In spite of the clouds of war now hanging over the world, these provisions will yet be recognized as a great gain for peace between all nations. They will yet have a profound and lasting effect." No man at The Hague did more to believe and to talk the Conference into success than Mr. White, and we know of no one of the delegates who has since been doing more by his repeated utterances to bring about "the profound and lasting effect" of which he speaks.

Tenth Interparliamentary Peace Conference.

The Tenth Interparliamentary Peace Conference opened at Paris, in the Senate Chamber, on July 31. The delegates numbered 656: from Germany, 61; United States, 1; England, 40; Austria, 43; Belgium, 59; Canada, 1; Denmark, 18; Spain, 2; France, 75; Greece, 2; Hungary, 68; Italy, 199; Netherlands, 8; Norway, 3; Portugal, 21; Roumania, 25; South Africa, 1; Sweden, 2; Switzerland, 27. The Italian delegates, on account of the assassination of King Humbert, did not remain. This may without doubt be declared the most important interparliamentary gathering which ever met. Eighteen parliaments were represented. The numbers from England, France, Germany, Italy and Austro-Hungary are very significant. The opening discourse was made by Mr. Fallières, president of the French Senate. Important papers were read and propositions made by Senator Descamps of Belgium, Mr. Beernaert, president of the Belgium Senate, Mr. de la Batut of France, Count Apponyi of Hungary, Mr. Beauquier, a French deputy, Mr. Yves Guyot, Mr. D'Estournelles, a member of the Hague Conference, Mr. W. R. Cremer of London, Dr. Hirsch, vice-president of the German Parliament, and Dr. Gobat, secretary of the Interparliamentary Bureau at Berne. The Conference gave special attention to the subject of active peace measures to be taken by neutral nations in time of war; to treaties of obligatory arbitration between particular countries; to the insertion of arbitral clauses in other treaties; to the securing of the adhesion of the non-signatory powers to the Hague Conventions; to the organization of the press in the interests of peace; to the ratification of the Hague Conventions by those governments not yet having done so. On the motion of Mr. D'Estournelles the Conference passed a strong resolution expressing the hope that the coöperation of the nations in suppressing disorder in China would not lead to new conquests, tending to universal war, but to "an organized and durable union between these States." On motion of Mr. Lorand, a Belgian delegate, the Conference expressed regret that the provisions of the Hague Convention were not used in the adjustment of the South African difficulty. Mr. Wessel, president of the parliament of the Orange Free State, was admitted to take part in the Conference, but with the understanding that this should not be considered as any expression of judgment on the political question at issue. A memorial, sent to the Conference by the Transvaal deputation, was not discussed, but put into the hands of the individual members. The new Council of the Union consists of two members each from Germany, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Spain, France, Great Britain, Hungary, Italy, Norway, Sweden, Portugal, Switzerland, Servia, and one from Roumania.

The Egoism of Europe.

It is a remarkable reversal of things to have a Turk taking Europe to task for its unrighteousness. But this is what Halil Ganem appropriately does in the August number of *Mechveret*, the Paris organ of the Young Turkey party. "Official Europe," he says, "has become so mercantile that it unfortunately no longer sees anything in politics but business to transact under the most favorable conditions. The moral side either escapes it entirely or is wholly secondary in its estimation. It is precisely in the divining of these base instincts of the soul of Europe, debased by traffic, atrophied by gain, having no longer any object but monopolistic adventures, accompanied by denial of justice, that the great skilfulness of Abdul-Hamid consists." Leaving his thought about the course pursued toward Turkey to make its own way into the minds of his readers, he arraigns the nations of Europe for their treatment of China, in which he says European egoism has taken on most startling proportions.

"It is atrocious to hear it said that men of such and such a class may be killed with impunity provided *we* are respected, *we* who are of the superior stuff! Your superiority has made a fine show of itself in your conduct in the East for many years! What noble and great thing have you done? Where are the universities which you have founded? What crimes have been prevented by you? In what place have you protected liberty, defended justice, aided the weak and the oppressed? You create counting houses, and you deliver the populations whom you have robbed of their nationality and their independence into the rapacious hands of functionaries

chosen from among the 'fine flowers' of your electoral committees or the 'dry fruits' of your schools, and that is the only superiority which you exhibit before the Orientals, who formerly had for you and for your civilization the most profound respect, the most sincere admiration, but who have lost it all to-day. There was a time when wise and weighty spirits would have arisen in Europe against this policy of greed and spoliation, but now everybody seems to have lost his head. The final cry of Western civilization seems to be 'Let us get rich!' The old wall of China has been broken down, but another has been erected, composed of hatred and antipathy to Occidentals."

Mr. Ganem goes on to show that the European nations must reap as they have sown, that they "will be punished for their egoism." They themselves have made "the yellow peril," "to such an extent has the love of money enslaved them," to such an extent have they failed to show any respect for the Chinese.

China's Side.

The editor of the *Independent* has been a-summering. He has been doing his editorials "In the Rose Garden," studying meantime the various members of the rose family, the cereal, the solanum, and the palm. The effect upon him has been profoundly pacific. He has come home in a very different frame of mind from that in which he had done much of his work for the past two years, during which he had joined the "madding crowd" and been with all his editorial might lashing the national horses on to the conquest of the Philippines. The unity and peace of the "Rose Garden" have so inspired him with peaceful feelings that we are sorry he has laid down his "vacation pen." He ought to have taken it back with him to the city and kept it in his hand for the rest of his mortal life. He returns "with a sense of great trust in that life which has evolved, and ever is evolving, so much of the true, the beautiful and the good — such a grand unity of physical and intellectual forces; all pointing upward and onward." "Evolution," he says, "has always implied something besides a mere brute struggle for existence; it has involved a mutual helpfulness for common good. So the universe is transformed from a struggle of antagonistic forces into a fellowship, and a moral as well as physical coöperation. 'Nature stood pledged, in the first cell that was created, to end her work in moral intelligence; and to-day, as forever in the past, she is pointing toward and working out, as the ultimate law, On earth peace; goodwill to men.'" And the editor, coming back under this spell of peace and goodwill, proceeds forthwith to write an article (in the number for Aug. 2) on "China's Side," which is the most just and discriminating treatment of the subject that we have seen in any of the great weeklies. He lays the responsibility for the present uprising in China where it belongs, on the powers that have seized Chinese territory, flouted and massacred Chinese people. But he stops short with criticism. He does not go on to point out that any settlement, having in it the promise of order and peace for the future, must include a sincere renunciation by the powers of the "criminal aggression" of which they have been so deeply guilty. That is much more necessary than to "go to Pekin" to rescue the besieged ministers, into whose perilous position we hope none others may ever be brought.

Cause of the Uprising.

The *Missionary Herald*, commenting on the disturbances in China, says:

"The truth is that it is modern civilization, sometimes very wrongfully pressed upon the Chinese, that has aroused their hostility. No doubt the acceptance of the Christian faith and the refusal to participate in idolatrous services is a grievance, but it is slight compared with the offense given by the opium war, the unwarranted seizure of territory by the nations, and by the building of railroads and telegraphs. Every intelligent student of Chinese affairs knows what fierce antipathies have been enkindled by the building of the railroad between Pekin and Tien Tsin. The road when first constructed, some years ago, was entirely destroyed, and though rebuilt of late and kept open by foreign intervention, it is bitterly opposed by thousands of people along the Pei-ho River, whose business as boatmen it has injured. According to Chinese notions, the erection of telegraph poles destroys the 'fung shui,' or good luck of a place, and all digging in the ground disturbs the 'earth dragon,' who will reek vengeance on the inhabitants. Moreover, the building of railroads necessitated the interference with multitudes of graves, than which nothing could be more offensive to the Chinese, who worship their ancestors. . . . Any one who has seen the Chinese go straight from a Confucian temple to worship at a Buddhist altar, and then pass directly on to bow at a Taoist shrine, will understand that their faith is not so fixed and exclusive as to rouse to intolerance when another faith is presented. Again we say, and with emphasis, it is not the preaching of Christianity, but the coming of another civilization, which has produced this convulsion in China. Would that this new civilization had been presented in a kindlier and more Christian way! Had the nations and the men of commerce acted more in accordance with the spirit of the missionaries of the gospel, this terrible awakening of a sleeping giant might not have occurred. May it be that in dealing with China now justice and mercy may be so mingled that her hatred of civilization and of Christianity shall not be intensified."

Civilized Warfare!

Civilized warfare, so called, plays its friends some very hideous tricks. The *Presbyterian Banner* thus comments on the atrocities reported from the East:

"At best war is not much better than what Sherman called it; at its worst its horrors are indescribable. It is always made under, at least, some pretense of a high and almost holy motive and purpose. The allied nations now warring on the Chinese unanimously agree that they

are working in the interests of civilization. The Kaiser, demanding that his troops take no prisoners, but shall take such vengeance that for a thousand years no Chinaman shall dare to look askance at a German — even the Kaiser talks of advancing civilization and promoting Christianity by the present war. And yet there come accounts from China that should fill every Christian mind with horror. Some of these may be the inventions of yellow journalism, and some have a very familiar sound, as if taken from the history of Alva or Wallenstein; but not a few come from sources that are entitled to credit. They are detailed, specific, circumstantial. Missionaries, well known in their churches, have reached home and tell of things that should shame all Europe. One asserts that the Chinese officers were refused quarter after the capture of the Taku forts, and were shot by the Russians after surrender. The wife of an American civil official declares she witnessed unspeakable excesses on the part of the Russian soldiers in Tien Tsin. Mothers and babes were tortured and butchered, their houses sacked and burned. The president of the university at Tien Tsin, Prof. O. D. Clifford, gives like testimony, and says the looting of the city began as soon as the allies got control of the place. Similar charges are made against the Japanese by an American machinist in China. It is not believed that such charges can be maintained against American or English soldiers in China, but some papers charge that great excesses have been committed in the Philippines, and that too often an indiscriminate vengeance is taken against a community because of the crimes of some individual."

What else can be expected from a system whose very heart is cruelty! The only way to civilize war, and make it so it can be trusted in severe emergencies, is to destroy it root and branch.

Christ's Method.

Among the many noble passages in Mr. Bryan's speech at Indianapolis, on notification of his nomination, here is one which a large number of the 165,000 ministers of the gospel in the country would do well to study with a good deal of seriousness:

"The religious argument (for imperialism) varies in positiveness from a passive belief that Providence delivered the Filipinos into our hands, for their good and our glory, to the exultation of the minister who said that we ought to 'thrash the natives (Filipinos) until they understand who we are,' and that 'every bullet sent, every cannon shot and every flag waved means righteousness.' We cannot approve of this doctrine in one place unless we are willing to apply it everywhere. If there is poison in the blood of the hand it will ultimately reach the heart. It is equally true that forcible Christianity, if planted under the American flag in the far-away Orient, will sooner or later be transplanted upon American soil. If true Christianity consists in carrying out in our daily lives the teachings of Christ, who will say that we are commanded to civilize with dynamite and proselyte with the sword? He who would declare the divine will must prove his authority either by Holy Writ or by evidence of a special dispensation. The command, 'Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature' has no gatling gun attachment. When Jesus visited a village of Samaria and the people refused to receive him, some of the disciples suggested that fire should be called down from Heaven to avenge the insult; but the Master rebuked them, and said, 'Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of; for the Son of Man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them.' Suppose he had said, 'We will thrash them until they understand who we are,' how different would have been the history of Christianity? Compare, if you will, the swaggering, bullying, brutal doctrine of imperialism with the Golden Rule and the commandment, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.' Love, not force, was the weapon of the Nazarene; sacrifice for others, not the exploitation of them, was his method of reaching the human heart. A missionary recently told me that the stars and stripes once saved his life because his assailant recognized our flag as a flag that had no blood upon it. Let it be known that our missionaries are seeking souls instead of sovereignty; let it be known that instead of being the advance guard of conquering armies, they are going forth to help and to uplift, having their loins girt about with truth and their feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace, wearing the breastplate of righteousness, and carrying the sword of the spirit; let it be known that they are the citizens of a nation which respects the rights of the citizens of other nations as carefully as it protects the rights of its own citizens, and the welcome given to our missionaries will be more cordial than the welcome extended to the missionaries of any other nation."

Gospel of Krupp Guns.

In an appeal to the clergy, recently published, Dr. Charles H. Parkhurst says:

"The one solitary question that we have to consider before our congregations is this: Is it in keeping with the expressed mind of Jesus Christ that his adherents should seek to extend his kingdom by the use of swords and guns? Can we conceive of his enlisting in the Philippine war, or encouraging, or even allowing, his disciples to do so? How would Jesus and John and Paul have looked pleading the love of God one moment and alternating by puncturing the impenitent pagans with a bayonet-thrust the next? . . . How, in the name of all that is sincere and unswervingly loyal, can you or I look with anything but grief and shame upon any blood-shedding scheme of gathering heathen Filipinos into the ranks of the redeemed? Is there any recorded word of Jesus Christ that can be construed into accord with such policy, or any example left us by any of his apostles that can by any honest style of hermeneutics be interpreted as endorsement of such policy? . . . There is nothing, doubtless, that God cannot overrule to his own glory and to the spread of the gospel, even the denials of Peter and the betrayal of Judas Iscariot; but to allow our pulpits to encourage 'the wrath of man' because 'God can make the wrath of man to praise him,' is a detestable way of going about the Lord's business; and to apologize, as I have recently seen done, for the Mohammedan way in which we are jamming Christian civilization upon the poor pagans of the Pacific, by say-

ing that, although it is bad business, yet the Almighty will have no difficulty in making it the means of hastening the millennium, is both hypocrisy and sacrilege. None of us ministers dare forget that there is a species of infidelity involved in all this procedure, inasmuch as it is a confession that Paul blundered badly when he proscribed the employment of carnal weapons in subduing the world to Christ, and a confession that the power of God in Christ is not equal to the task of men's redemption unless assisted by the slaughterous enginery of Krupp guns."

Incurably Evil.

We do not wonder at the tone of profound grief, not however of despair, pervading the annual report of the English Peace Society, which has just reached us in pamphlet form. The Society's public work has been much interfered with the past year by reason of the intolerant war spirit pervading the nation and rendering public peace meetings nearly impossible. It has maintained with unflinching loyalty its testimony against war, though within a restricted circle of influence. We quote one passage which shows how deeply these friends of peace, who are loyal Englishmen, feel the condition into which their country has fallen:

"The war in South Africa furnishes most painful illustrations of the evils against which this Society has persistently contended. It has shown, for instance, that both preparations for war and endeavors to secure political results by threats of force lead always to the breach and not to the maintenance of peace. It has illustrated the fact that war means the wholesale destruction of human life, the spread of physical disease, the waste of human property, the ruin of homesteads, the suffering and untold misery of the innocent, the agony and desolation of human hearts, the searing of human souls, and the blighting and brutalizing of the human conscience. Not quite eight (now eleven) months have elapsed since the war began, and already it has involved the sacrifice of thousands whom the civilized world could ill spare; and, by a not overstrained estimate, it has cost this country nearly one hundred millions (pounds) of money, wrung from its capital, commerce and toiling industry. The nation has had brought home to it, through scenes of carnage and horror and unutterable misery, what war actually is. It has had an amount of anguish and desolation spread through numbers of hearths and homes. . . . Its prosperity, both as regards capital and labor, has been diminished. It has had a permanent addition to its military burdens, and an increase of national taxation, which will make themselves felt in the by no means distant future. Worse than all, the moral effects of the war are every day becoming deplorably manifest in the spirit of the people, in an open contempt for the forbearing and merciful spirit of the gospel, and a subordination of its most prominent and cherished principles (even on the part of some of its professed teachers)— all of which have startled not a few of those who had not previously considered the question, and compelled them to inquire whether a system productive of such pernicious results can be other than altogether and incurably evil. . . . The friends of peace must deeply deplore the effects of the war in our own country, and especially, as was inevitable, the rapid development of the military spirit. This, beyond all doubt, carefully and intentionally created and fostered, soon spread from the music halls to the churches, and thence throughout the whole nation, until some of the dearest liberties and privileges of English national life have been sacrificed."

Murder Games.

Whittier, in "The Training," gives expression to the following sentiment with which a man cannot be civilized without feeling sympathy:

"Education and reflection have wrought a change in my feelings. The trumpet of the Cid, or Ziska's drum even, could not now waken the old martial spirit. The bull-dog ferocity of a half intoxicated Anglo-Saxon, pushing his blind way against the converging cannon fire from the shattered walls of Ciudad Rodrigo, commends itself neither to my reason nor my fancy. I now regard the accounts of the bloody passage of the Bridge of Lodi, and of French cuirassiers madly transfixing themselves upon the bayonets of Wellington's squares, with very much the same feeling of horror and loathing which is excited by a detail of the exploits of an Indian Thug, or those of a mad Malay running amuck, creese in hand, through the streets of Pulo Penang. Your Waterloo and battles of the Nile and Baltic, what are they, in sober fact, but gladiatorial murder games on a great scale, human imitations of bull-fights, at which Satan sits as grand alguazil and master of ceremonies? The brawny butcher work of men whose wits, like those of Ajax, lie in their sinews, and who are 'yoked like draught oxen and made to plough up the wars,' is no realization of my ideal of true courage."

War Teaching, Vacant Pews.

John Brisben Walker, editor of the *Cosmopolitan*, writes thus in a recent number of his magazine:

"There is much complaint nowadays of deserted pews in the churches, and from time to time one reads explanations of the why and wherefore of this desertion. Does it never occur to the good men who stand in Christ's shoes that the real difficulty lies in the reconciliation in the popular mind of Christian teaching and Christian performance? For instance, here are some thousands of Christian ministers in England to-day. Each Sunday for the past ten years they have read from the New Testament to their flocks. Nothing in Christ's teaching is more clearly laid down than the impossibility of a Christian war. Everywhere throughout his life, in every line of his Testament, Christ indicates his abhorrence of fratricidal strife.

"Some questions arose over high taxes put upon English works in the Transvaal. Other questions concerned the extension of British control. Still other questions concerned the right of Queen Victoria's subjects to take a part in the political affairs of another people. These all may be large or small. Concede, if you will, that they are of considerable importance. At about the same hour it is announced that some millions of people to

whom England owes responsibility are starving in India. Suddenly vast armies are in motion for the settlement of the South African questions. The means which should have been drawn from England's treasury to relieve the millions who are starving in India, or educate the hundreds of thousands who are in wretchedness in London, are diverted to the maintenance of its armies. Thousands of young lives are destroyed. Butchery, bloodshed and brutality are rampant. Now, you say, is the opportunity for Christianity. Earnest minded men who tread in Christ's shoes will rise up with their followers as a mighty host and protest against this violation of God's commandments.

"Alas and a!ack! The unscrupulous politicians who have brought about this war for their own personal ends have no stronger backing than these ministers. So far from demonstrating against bloodshed, they lend the whole power of the social structure which the ages have built around their churches to strengthen the enginery of this bloodshed.

"As the sun of a new day rises over the hills, the thinking man, turning to the east, stands with his eyes looking down upon the words of Christ in the open Book before him. What does it all mean? Are theory and practice incompatible? Are these empty sounding phrases which are repeated from the pulpits? Is it all a farce?

"And on the following Sunday there are more vacant pews, and the Christian minister wonders why this indifference to the teachings of Christ."

Peace Work in South America.

The movement in the interests of peace started at Buenos Ayres by a group of eminent men of different South American nationalities is giving promise of much good in that continent where war, civil or international, has scarcely ever been absent. The "Asociacion Americana la Paz," as their society is named, is putting forth efforts to prevent the growing friction and rivalry of armaments between Argentina and Chili, and between Chili, Peru and Bolivia, as well as to develop among the South American peoples generally the sentiment of brotherhood and harmony. The principles of the Association have met with warm reception in several of the republics. At an important Teachers' Congress, which was held in the capital of Argentina in the month of July, the Peace Association was represented by its founder and general secretary, Señor Medina, an Argentinian publicist, who read a paper on the history of the peace movement and its beneficent influence on public opinion. He introduced and secured the adoption of four resolutions, in substance as follows:

1. All differences between nations should be settled, not by war, but by judicial means, as are those between individuals.

2. A program should be provided and put in practice which includes the study and diffusion of the principles of the peace propaganda, its purposes and means of action.

3. A system of fraternal correspondence, national and international, between pupils of the same grade and studies, should be established under proper regulations.

4. The custom should be introduced, as far as possible, of displaying always with the national flag the white flag, the symbol of universal peace.

Women's Work for Peace.

One feature of present-day peace work cannot be overestimated, that is, the part which women are taking in it. The president of the Women's Universal Alliance for Peace, the Princess Wiszniewska, said, at a recent banquet in Paris, that more than two million women have entered the crusade against war. This work of women has nearly all grown up within fifteen years, most of it within ten. The Women's Universal Alliance for Peace will hold its first conference at Paris from the 27th to 29th of September. The Peace Department of our National W. C. T. U. was established only thirteen years ago, and is now organized in twenty-eight states of the Union. The World's W. C. T. U., uniting all the temperance women in all nations, established a Peace Department only ten years ago. Mrs. Hannah J. Bailey, superintendent, has just made her fifth biennial report at the great convention of the Union, held at Edinburgh, Scotland. In this report she says that the Peace Department now has eleven national superintendents, working in as many different countries. She alludes in the report, feelingly, to the serious obstacles and discouragements met with in peace work recently, but gives expression to her unfaltering hope of the ultimate triumph of the cause, for which so much has been done during recent years. The Hague Conference is given a large amount of attention in the report, and the work done by women in various countries to make that gathering a success. After reviewing the work of the Department for the past two years, with interesting details from the United States, Great Britain, Canada, Australasia, Jamaica, the Bahama Islands, Palestine and Scandinavia, Mrs. Bailey lays special stress upon the part naturally falling to Christian organizations in the promotion of universal and permanent peace. "The establishment of universal peace upon earth is an essential part of the gospel of him whose last command was, 'Love one another,' whose last prayer was for his enemies, and whose farewell legacy was peace. . . . 'Only the Golden Rule of Christ can bring the Golden Age of Man.'"

Cuba's Independence

In an address given at a banquet tendered him at Santiago on August 25, by the Republican and the Democratic parties, Governor-General Wood declared that the immediate future of Cuba is independence. After stating that he was there as their friend, "and in no other capacity," he said:

"Everybody in the United States was astonished at the satisfactory way in which the municipal elections passed off. President McKinley personally asserted that he thought the time for the next step had come. Whatever the ultimate destiny of Cuba may be, its immediate future is independence. This is no political move on the part of the United States, but a sincere desire to do what is right. Therefore I beg you, as a personal favor to me and to the United States government, to sink your political differences and passions and to send men to the (constitutional) convention who are renowned for honor and capacity, so that the convention may mean more than the Cubans even now anticipate. . . . Your delegates must be competent to draft a constitution, and it is a duty you owe to yourselves and your fellow-patriots to see that your representation is without party prejudice. Bear in mind that no constitution which does not provide for a stable government will be accepted by the United States. I wish to avoid making Cuba into a second Hayti, although I do not think that possible. You want liberty for all, and for no particular party. The United States insists that you shall have it. This is possible, and easily possible. We have said it to the world. It lies with you to help us make our word good."

In the light of what has been done and is being done in Cuba, peacefully and with the confidence and affection of the people, the wrong which has been done the Filipinos is made even more glaring, and no amount of excuses, political or commercial, can ever cover it up. Right and wrong do not change their character with the hemispheres.

Barthold Schlesinger.

Mr. Barthold Schlesinger, who recently deceased at his home in Brookline, Mass., was a very warm and earnest friend of peace, whose visits to our office were most inspiring and encouraging. All the recent wars were a sore grief to him. He considered them unnecessary and wicked. He thought the question of peace out with German thoroughness, and he could not understand how so many prominent, intelligent people seemed so indifferent and opposed to the cause. We know of no peace worker who did more personally than he to try to interest friends in the movement. His works followed his faith. He had been for a number of years connected with the work of the American Peace Society, and more recently was one of the Board of Directors. He was a liberal giver to support the work of the Society, and induced a number of prominent people from among his friends to connect themselves with it, or to become subscribers to the ADVOCATE OF PEACE. We are very sorry that he has been taken away, so much are such men — able, honest, philanthropic, tireless in their labor — needed in the present condition of the world. We extend our most heartfelt sympathies to all the members of the family whom his death has brought into bereavement and sorrow.

Brevities.

. . . The first international congress of the Women's Universal Peace Alliance will be held at Paris from the 27th to the 29th of September, in the hall of the Trocadéro.

. . . The general election for the selection of delegates to the Constitutional Convention to frame a constitution for Cuba will be held on the third Saturday in September.

. . . Prof. J. C. Bracq of Vassar, who is spending his summer in his native France, has been laboring with the French government to induce them to refer the Newfoundland fisheries' dispute to arbitration.

. . . The war in South Africa has already cost Great Britain $400,000,000, and she has opened subscription for a new loan of $50,000,000, half of which has been taken in this country.

. . . In the case of the sinking of the British dispatch boat Kow Ching, during the China-Japanese War, United States Ambassador Choate has been chosen arbitrator between the British and Chinese governments. Mr. Choate was suggested by the Chinese government, which has maintained that Japan was responsible for the loss, the Kow Ching having been sunk by Japanese warships while conveying Chinese soldiers.

. . . Lord Russell, chief justice of England, who died on the 10th of August, will be remembered among the friends of peace by his great address on arbitration before the American Bar Association at Saratoga in 1896, and his eminent services as a member of the Paris Arbitration Tribunal in the Venezuela boundary case.

. . . The International Commission of Surveyors, appointed to lay out the provisional boundary line between Canada and Alaska, have completed their work. The new line gives the northern half of the Porcupine mining district, claimed heretofore by the United States, to Canada. The American miners are said to be indignant, and to have petitioned President McKinley to have the survey set aside. The new line is only provisional, and does not in any way finally settle any of the points in dispute.

. . . A recent circular issued by the Republican National Committee shows that of the total revenue receipts of $568,988,948 for the current year, $138,462,172 goes for pensions and $190,743,980 for the war and navy departments, a grand total of 57¾ per cent. for war burdens. The Philippine War has cost $186,678,000, and the burdensomeness of it is increasing every day instead of diminishing.

. . . Three young men, Andres P. Ravndal, Torger Fredriksen Skurve and Julius Haaland, have recently in Norway been sentenced to solitary confinement for twenty days for refusing on conscientious grounds to perform the military service required by the state.

. . . Owing to the complete Russianizing of Finland, so oppressively and we may say so unwisely accomplished by the Russian government, fifteen thousand Finns left their country last year, and it is announced that a single steamship line has agreed to bring fifty-five thousand to America this year.

. . . Hon. Simeon E. Baldwin of the Supreme Court of Errors, Connecticut, president this year of the International Law Association, gave in his inaugural address, at the opening of the annual conference of the Association at Rouen, France, on the 21st of August, a most instructive account of "The Part taken by Courts of Justice in the Development of International Law."

. . . John Knox said, when he was about to die: "The terrible warring of gunnes and the noise of armor do so pierce my heart that my soul thirsteth to depart."

. . . The English Friends, who have felt deeply the "deterioration of character" brought on by the prevalence of the war spirit and the growth of militarism in Great Britain, have issued an address on "Christianity and War," unusually vigorous and appropriate to the circumstances of the time. More than fifty thousand copies of it have already been distributed.

. . . A recent pamphlet issued by Edward Wavrinsky of Stockholm shows that fifty-two members of the Swedish parliament are members of the Interparliamentary Peace Union. Only three members of our Congress have ever attended a conference of the Union in the eleven years of its existence.

. . . Commenting on Senator Frye's remark, "As for myself, I'm for my country, right or wrong," the *Boston Herald* says: "That's a free and easy sort of patriotism. It enables its possessor to swallow anything and everything without hesitation. And it is the kind that tyrants affect, too." We should call it a hard and fast sort of false patriotism, with not a scintilla of true love of country in it.

. . . In Italy during the past year twenty-four hundred duels have been fought, resulting in the death of four hundred and eighty persons. These duels were for the most part between army officers, and grew out of the most trivial pretexts.

. . . In the recent death of Miss Maria Louise Eve, of Augusta, Ga., the peace cause loses one of its truest, purest and loveliest friends in America. For many years in the circle in which she moved, especially in the Sabbath school where she was a teacher, and in the missionary society of which she was a member, "her life's mission seemed to be to make peace." She wrote peace verse of no common order, noteworthy among which were her "Peace to the World," read at the Chicago Peace Congress, in 1893, and her "Conquered at Last," a poem which is said to have done more to unite the sympathies of North and South than anything else written since the Civil War.

. . . Miss P. H. Peckover, in the twenty-first report of the Wisbech (England) Local Peace Association, writes: "From light to shadow, from progress to decadence, from peace to war, has been, so far as our country is concerned, the record of the year; but, looking beyond, the gain far exceeds the loss." The signing of the agreements reached at the Hague Conference, she says, "marks an era in our cause, and opens up a new vista full of light and hope."

. . . "The theory that God delights in war, and that He fights on the side of the heaviest battalions, has no doubt won more souls to the eternal death to which Satan desires to consign them than any other error which he has been able to instil in the mind of man." — *Youths' Instructor.*

. . . The International Peace Bureau at Berne has sent expressions of its sympathy and good wishes to more than thirty of the congresses meeting at the Paris Exposition.

. . . The Baroness von Suttner, because of her eminent services to the cause of peace, was invited by the committee of arrangements to be present at the Interparliamentary Conference at Paris, but was unable to go on account of the illness of her husband.

. . . The *Saturday Evening Post* (Philadelphia), in a recent editorial, well remarks that "Not since Alexander II. of Russia signed the Emancipation Act has there been any action taken by the Russian government to give so much satisfaction as this abolition of the Siberian exile system."

. . . Mr. John de Bloch, author of the great work on "The Future of War," is busy at Paris promoting the peace propaganda in his own unique way. A lecture was given by him recently in the Petit Luxembourg Hall on "The Problems of War and the Policy of Colonial Expansion."

Upon a Time.

BY EMILIE HYACINTHE LOYSON.

Alas! my grand, my beautiful land — America! — E. H. L.

Upon a time — a glad and glorious day —
There stood a Dame upon a broad, high continent,
Her own domain, by right divine.
She was of noble stature, fairest mien and grandest birth:
Sired by Liberty and nursed by Conscience — a Queen —
And stretched forth willing hands to all the world oppressed,
Gave bread and hope to all the Earth.

One day the air was filled with noisome fumes
From out the old corrupted crater of the "Other World,"
And unawares she breathed it in;
When suddenly her brain was turned,
Her hands grew crisp, her eyes went wandering
Out over vast unsailed and troubled seas:
A spasm seized her heart, her speech went wrong,
A burning thirst was in her throat;
She quenched it with a draught, — not wine,
But redder, thicker, — and then the cup fell
On her fair breast (before so white), and her fair robe
Was all besmeared with gore!

Then, like a hot simoon, that sweeps from desert wastes,
A great temptation fell upon her,
And she gave heed to strange and sinful voices,
And sold her birthright — aye! even the people's bread —
For glittering fringe upon her wide-spread garments,
Fallen from her shoulders and draggled in the dust;
And took with feverish hands her crown of glory,
And threw it out into the mirky sea, and cried:
"My Empire is wherever it may fall,
For I am Empress of the world."
Then in its stead she put a clout upon her head:
Her crown was lost and her fair fame;
Her Kingdom gone — and she was mad!

Paris, June, 1900.

The Higher Levels of Arbitration.

BY JOSEPH COOK.

Address at the Lake Mohonk Arbitration Conference, June 7, 1900.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: In spite of Victor Hugo's sublime apotheosis of humanity, "God only is great!" Unless a theocracy governs the nations, the coming of universal democracy will not be safe, even under the higher levels of arbitration. "Men fraternize in the heavens," Victor Hugo says. There was a song of angels which began the Christian era, an expression of thought endlessly majestic and startlingly profound: "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace." To whom? "To men of goodwill," to men of right choice or upright intention, and to no others. We have had great philosophers, from Immanuel Kant and Jonathan Edwards down to the present hour, who say that everything good in man is, at last analysis, right choice. "Peace on earth," the angels sang, not peace to everyone,— there is no such atrocious absurdity in the Scriptures as that,— but "Peace on earth to men of right choice." "*In terra pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis*," the Vulgate translates the Greek. Those Latin words are a safe watchword of both theology and politics.

It is no empty exaggeration to say that the nineteenth century has made the whole world one neighborhood. The twentieth ought to endeavor to make this one neighborhood into one brotherhood. And yet it is God who has made the world one neighborhood, and it is God, and only He, who will or can make it one brotherhood. The world was once like a block of marble: struck on one side, the other side did not quiver. But it is now like a mass of sensitive nerve-fibre: wound the modern world anywhere, and it winces everywhere. There are no foreign lands; there can be no more hermit nations. As Victor Hugo affirms, in the marvelous passage just now read to us by our accomplished national ex-librarian, Mr. Spofford, "The unity of the world explains everything and resolves everything." The proudest of the Cæsars could not drive around the Roman empire in less than one hundred days; but we now send a letter or a bale of goods or a man around the entire globe in less than eighty circuits of the sun. The rights of neutrals have increased in importance on account of the crowding of the nations together through the swiftness of modern methods of intercommunication. If two men fight in an open plain they may swing their swords as they please; but if they fight in a crowd, the bystanders have something to say as to how the weapons shall be handled. The rights of neutrals are now so emphasized that all our great economists tell us that wars must be lessened as much as possible in number and duration on account of the interests at stake in the nations that do not fight at all.

In the progress of representative institutions and the gradual broadening of the suffrage in advanced nations, ballots are rising into authority over bullets. The prospects of peace brighten now that the victims of war themselves begin to hold the purse strings of war. Except war in self-defense or for humanity, all enlightened circles now are beginning to be ready to make war against war. Duels between nations for selfish or aggressive ends ought to be regarded as more barbarous than the now obsolete or obsolescent practice of duels between individuals. The story of Naboth's Vineyard, if re-enacted now between a strong nation and a weak one, ought to bring upon the oppressor and robber a clinging infamy as scarifying as the shirt of Nessus.

We watch the war in South Africa, though we say nothing of it, perhaps, except at our firesides. We are painfully interested in a contest in the Philippines, although on that topic we must remember that here and now speech is silver and silence is gold. Let me be candid with you, however, by the use of metaphors.

Wendell Phillips, before slavery was abolished, used to speak of the "national vulture" instead of the national eagle. Perhaps you will allow me now to say that there is an American eagle, aspiring to be comrade of the sun, capable of holding the thunderbolts in its talons, a bird with no vermin in its feathers and no taste for carrion. There is also an American cormorant, who never looks at the sun as long as he can see a fish, who forgets that there is a blue vault above him if there is spoil beneath him; and "like the thunderbolt he falls," to use Tennyson's phrase as to the nobler bird. This cormorant is accustomed to study the seashores of the world with a commercial air. I am saying nothing against any politician, or statesman, or merchant. These two birds are emblematic of two types of thought and feeling in our civilization. It is a mischief of conventions of reformers that we live too exclusively in our own atmosphere. Although there are merchants of the lower type — God forbid that I should say a word against merchants of the loftier type! They have been missionaries of civilization and Christianity for many centuries. But there are two Americas, one represented by the cormorant, one by the eagle. I dislike exceedingly being called a little American, but I dislike still more to be called a turn-coat American or a cormorant American.

It is important to remember that there are two British emblematic animals. The lion, a natural king of beasts, does not much overestimate himself when he is at his best and sobered by occasional defeat. Many beasts are afraid of him — not the eagle, far aloft! The lion can strike a blow so swift that you lose sight of his paw. He is a cat as well as a lion. When he closes his jaws upon his prey he does not easily unlock them. He has persistence, power, "pluck," as the British say. I have great respect for the lion: he has done wonders in the world. But there is a British jackal that sometimes hunts with the lion. Now the jackal is first cousin to the wolf. He hunts in a pack; he likes to be three to one in a fight. He feeds on carrion; he takes up jobs that almost nobody else will touch. "There are two Englands," says Gasparin, "conscientious England and unscrupulous England." I will not go further with the metaphors. I mean by this beast what I venture to call the Jackal Jingoism of which there is a specimen on this side the water as well as on the other, whenever greed gets control of conscience, and our nation comes under the domination of what I call Cormorant Imperialism, in contrast to Christian Imperialism. Of this Cormorant Imperialism, "fate" and "manifest destiny" and "markets" are the watchwords, as we have heard ever since Aaron Burr's predatory expedition. Aaron Burr, I hope, is a fit subject of remark, and I do not know that I ought to forget the name of saintly Cecil Rhodes! What we want is a

moral alliance, never a political, never a formal alliance, such as was denounced so properly here to-day in the eloquent words of Mr. Paine. I want the American eagle and the British lion to be good friends. I do not want to see an alliance of the American cormorant and the British jackal.

Dropping metaphor, here are four ascending levels of arbitration, rising steps of this great reform which has already flooded us with unexpected success. First, we have Permissive Arbitration; this we have at last attained. A permanent international tribunal of arbitration is now a fact and no fancy, and God be praised that we are able to say this! In the holy year which closes the nineteenth century, twenty-six nations have become signatory powers, standing leagued in support of the great convention adopted at The Hague, guaranteeing arbitration in its permissive form. Nothing in it is compulsory; it is simply and even rather defiantly permissive. It is fact and no dream that twenty-six nations have signed that convention,— our Republic having ratified it first of all, — and that within a few months the permanent international tribunal, for which we have longed and prayed and labored so many years, will be in active operation, ready to be used by any one who comes forward to ask for its services. I wish to recognize this combination of events as one of the most remarkable in the history of the century. I am not sure but that our century will be remembered by this great convention at The Hague quite as much as by some other events which have made more noise. There is in Permissive Arbitration, even if we do not attain anything more, a new era.

Statesmen who do not use the Permanent International Tribunal now organized will be expected to explain why they do not arbitrate. The sixty-one strategic articles of the great treaty commended by the twenty-six signatory powers represented in the Conference at The Hague are the resplendent outlines of a Magna Charta of reformed international law. Immanuel Kant, Grotius, Henry IV. of France, John Bright, Charles Sumner, to say nothing of scores of other great advocates of international reform, were they alive to-day, would see in this memorable document a result of the travail of their souls and be *gratified* — I had almost said *satisfied!*

But what more do we want? It has been admirably explained to you that Italy and Argentina have entered into what I call Guaranteed Arbitration. They do not stand at the permissive level, where the twenty-six nations stand. They have risen to the second level in the ascending course, and have guaranteed to each other arbitration, and made it formally as well as morally obligatory upon themselves as a means of settling any of their difficulties, even those touching national honor. This is the level on which we should like to establish a treaty of arbitration with France, with Russia, with Germany, with England, with any of the twenty-six nations that signed the agreement establishing Permissive Arbitration. There is far more stringency in this second shape of the reform than in the first; but the first, if we have no more, will send me, for one, onward in whatever time may be left to me with a thankful heart. I believe that no one five years ago would have predicted that twenty-six nations would rise to the level of Permissive Arbitration, and that to-day people would be discussing the propriety of adopting Guaranteed or Obligatory Arbitration.

A third level at which arbitration may stand I call Confederated Arbitration. Permissive Arbitration is simply the forefinger extended, pointing the way: you may take it if you please. There is the guiding hand, and it is of the first importance to have the legal assistance and moral and intellectual prestige of such a body as this permanent tribunal is likely to be. At least two ex-Presidents of our Republic are fit for seats in that august tribunal. But you know naturalists tell us that the hand of man is one cause of his greatness, and that the secret of it lies in the *opposable thumb*, which makes it possible for him to grasp objects as the lower animals cannot.

David Dudley Field, *magnum et venerabile nomen*, of whom a chancellor of England said that he had done more for the reform of laws than any man living, proposed years ago, in what I consider the ablest book America has produced on the topic, "A New International Code." This stately legal volume of seven hundred pages has been translated into French and Italian and even into Chinese — heaven grant it may help the Celestial Empire in these critical days of its history! He proposed in this book a league of nations, or what I should call Confederated Arbitration. There was an *opposable thumb* in the plan he constructed. His scheme, as a whole, is only a theory, but it is wrought out with wonderful skill. Many parts of it have now been adopted by twenty-six nations. It proposes setting an opposable thumb over against the fingers of the hand of reform in the field of arbitration. This great lawyer's and reformer's plan was that the treaties now existing between advanced nations should be reduced to a simple code, that other agreements should be made to promote peace as far as possible, and that then the leading nations should adopt the code after full discussion. If, thereafter, any of the nations adopting it — any of the fingers — should make war contrary to the provisions of the code, the nations parties to it agreed to coerce the offending nation to keep the peace.*

There was arbitration with a sanction. Of course, the mere agreement would keep the peace; no war would be likely to occur under such an arrangement. There would be the hand with the opposable thumb and something of a grip in it. This is one of the higher levels of arbitration which has been advocated by this eminent specialist on that topic. I believe it will do younger men good to look into Dudley Field's international code. It is full of suggestions on a dozen points that have been discussed here. Edward Everett Hale, our veteran philanthropist, in whose presence I once shook this book at an audience in Boston, said he was glad to have it exhibited, for the solid, legal volume was a more effective object lesson than any collection of special pamphlets.

You might call David Dudley Field's plan Coercive Arbitration; I call it simply Confederated Arbitration. It would make a league somewhat like the confederation with which this Republic began its career. This arbi-

* "Every nation party to this code binds itself to unite in forming a Joint High Commission, or a High Tribunal of Arbitration, in the cases hereinbefore specified as proper for its action, and to submit to the decision of a High Tribunal of Arbitration constituted and proceeding in conformity to this code. . . . If any party hereto shall begin a war in violation of the provisions of this code for the preservation of peace, the other parties bind themselves to resist the offending nation by force." "Outlines of an International Code," by David Dudley Field, second edition. New York: Baker, Voorhis & Co.; London: Trübner & Co., 1876.

tration league would extend around the world among the advanced nations.

This third shape of the reform would enable us to begin to think of a still higher level of improvement, or what I call Disarmed Arbitration. The Emperor of Russia, in his call for the Hague Convention, said much about disarmament, and put it in the forefront of his proposition. His action looked like driving the wedge thick end foremost. Disarmament is naturally a final, almost never a fit initial, measure. We have driven in the thin end of the wedge now, and more than the thin end. We are likely to get to a serious discussion of Dudley Field's plan by and by. We may come at last to the level at which arbitration will demand disarmament, or at least a diminution of the size of armies and war budgets. As this has been discussed for centuries by great experts, as it was brought forward at The Hague, we must keep it in mind in view of the future into which we are drifting, and in which we ought to have clear ideas of this reform which we have been blessed by Providence with permission to initiate.

Unless God stands above all these lower and higher levels of arbitration, they are as vain as telegraphic lines without the electric current. I put above them all what I love to call Christian Imperialism, the purpose of uplifting humanity, the mood which sends missionaries to the ends of the earth, the inspiration from on high of which my theistic Hindoo friend, Mozoomdar, spoke eloquently here last night. He told us in his figurative way that until a theocracy governs the earth our democracy is little better than chaos. Why, we need to sow this land ankle deep with documents concerning arbitration! And let not the churches think they have no responsibility in this matter. They are to interpret the thought of God; for it is only from the rains, only from the light, coming from above, that we shall make Christian Imperialism a success, or give anything like vitality to the hopes that Victor Hugo and Tennyson express.

Good poetry ought to be good sense, as well as lofty in its appeal to the love of the beautiful and the sublime. Tennyson's words are grand and beautiful, and are also good sense; but the most important line in the famous passage is rarely quoted:

"Then I dipped into the future, far as human eye could see,
Saw the Vision of the world, and all the wonder that would be;

". . . 'Till the war-drum throbbed no longer, and the battle-flags were furled
In the Parliament of Man, the federation of the world.

"*There the common-sense of most shall hold a fretful realm in awe,*
And the kindly earth shall slumber, lapped in universal law."

"There?" Where? In the "Parliament of Man, the federation of the world." By federation he does not mean consolidation; he would not cut up by the roots national patriotism. He would not have such a union of the nations as would prevent a man from saying, "I am an Englishman," "I am a German," or "I am an American." Daniel Webster once said, "Our states are united, not consolidated." Tennyson means that among the nations there shall be such an arrangement as Confederated Arbitration. How are we to hold nations in times of great stress and tumult, when greed seizes upon the heart-strings and they will have war at any price, and rush headlong into any kind of peril? How are we to hold them? By David Dudley Field's Confederated Arbitration, or by such alliance of a moral and legal kind among the nations as shall give the "common-sense of most" the power to "hold a fretful realm in awe." I ask young men in America,—I strenuously urge all who are to be Pilgrim Fathers of the twentieth century,—to study the higher levels of arbitration, until they come, as a fixed habit of mind, to demand Christian Imperialism, to demand it in the face of Cormorant Imperialism everywhere, to demand it in the face of a Jackal Jingoism, to demand it in the press, to demand it in the pulpit, to demand it on the platform, to demand it in the schools, to demand it as authors, as statesmen, and even as politicians.

"All the armor of the booted warrior in the tumult
And the garments rolled in blood
Shall be for burning
And for fuel of fire.

"For unto us a child is born,
Unto us a Son is given;
And the Government shall be upon His shoulder,
And His name shall be called Wonderful,
Counsellor, Mighty God,
Everlasting Father, Prince of Peace.
Of the increase of His Government
And of Peace there shall be no end. . . .
The zeal of the Lord of Hosts shall perform this."
—*Isaiah ix.* (R. V. text and margin.)

The Influence of Mechanical Science on the Social Condition of Humanity.

BY EDWARD ATKINSON.

Proposed for submission to the American Association for the Advancement of Science, June, 1900.

I have been requested to submit a paper on the foregoing subject. In compliance with that request I offer the following views on only one department of Mechanical Invention.

We can readily conceive the human race wandering over vast spaces in prehistoric ages, few in number, each family living on the spontaneous products of the soil, without knowledge of how to make fire and without any mechanical appliances or tools. We can imagine what happened when the first man who had invented a flint spear head found out that it gave him greater power. Presently the art of keeping fire alive was devised, later the art of making fire; then the art of cooking was discovered, and the man who could make flint spear heads with which to provide the most food energy to his body took a dominant position. Presently the arrow was invented which was discharged from some kind of bow, the gut of animals coming into use for bow strings.

The first man who excelled in these arts became capable of exerting power not only over the beasts of the field and the forest, but over his neighbors. Doubtless he assumed that power. Tribal organization then came into existence. The superiority of the tribe that had invented tools over those who had not became manifest. Distribution by force, plunder and rapine, the stronger controlling the weaker and less intelligent, evidently became a rule in the primary organization of society. New social conditions have been developed with every mechanical invention applied to killing implements. Presently emerged the art of war. The warrior became the chief, free of labor; the woman becoming a beast of

burden. As time went on new inventions in the art of killing and in the organization of armed forces were developed, and with their progress, tribes, races and states gained control over others according to their superiority in mechanical invention applied to the art of war.

Progress was presently made in substituting slavery for slaughter; captured persons were made useful, while the military caste grew more and more arrogant in their contempt for the arts of peace. The feudal system ensued over a large part of Europe. The man in armor, knight, earl, duke, king and the like, was enabled by mechanical invention applied to making armor and killing implements to subjugate the common people to his sway.

NEW INVENTIONS IN THE ART OF WAR.

As time went on new mechanical and constructive inventions were applied in the art of war, the building of castles proof against anything but gunpowder. The robber barons were thus able to hold in subjection great areas of country. But even before the invention of gunpowder several mechanical appliances had tended to reduce the power of the man in armor. The cross bow, capable of sending an arrow but a short distance, had not overcome the power of the man in armor. The long bow went a step further and had nearly unhorsed the knight, enabling well-armed infantry, especially the Swiss, to overcome the power of the petty dukes and knights, who only gave up fighting among themselves and united under one leader for a time in order to continue their oppression of the subject masses. The military caste used every possible effort to suppress invention and to keep the control over the common people; but presently came the invention of gunpowder, the most effective invention in changing the social conditions yet developed. It must have been very unpleasant to the feudal chieftain, mounted and clad in complete armor, to have a bullet put through the iron pot with which his head had previously been protected. Doubtless his assumption of superior intelligence and right to govern was profoundly shaken by the first bullet which unhorsed him.

We witness in the records of war the constant efforts of the military caste to degrade the tradesman and the mechanic, to keep them in subjection, and as far as possible to prevent the application of invention that might in any way render the man at arms equal to the members of the military caste by whom armies were organized. Had the common school been earlier established, and had common intelligence and instruction accompanied progress in the mechanical art of killing, war would long since have become impossible. War is generated in ignorance, ambition and greed.

It is only by base appeals to bad motives that the military caste and the privileged classes can now array the privates of different countries and races against each other. It is only by appeals to ignorance and prejudice that private soldiers can be induced to fight, who would otherwise live in a condition of peace, order and mutual service.

ART OF WAR IN THIS CENTURY.

The fine art of war, *alias* killing, has been developed with greater rapidity in the nineteenth century than ever before, until we are almost at the point when it will become so uncertain which of any two naval vessels or armies in battle array will be quickly destroyed as to make it bad policy to bring them very near each other, especially since the improvement of rifles has made it certain that unless the officers disguise themselves as privates and fall into the ranks they will be the first to be hit. Under these conditions war may become as absurd, ridiculous and archaic as it is ghastly, atrocious and beastly in its immediate effects.

A little over one hundred years ago Immanuel Kant published his great essay on Eternal Peace, in which he laid down the principle in the following paraphrase: "Seek ye first the kingdom of pure practical reason and its righteousness, and then will your object, the benefit of perpetual peace, be added unto you."

In the light of pure reason is not all war due to ignorance or imbecility? What could be more grotesquely horrible than the pictures in the London *Graphic* of Englishmen and Boers meeting to bury the dead or holding friendly intercourse while succoring the wounded; then obeying the orders to shoot each other in a contest in which their own welfare is sacrificed either to the greed, the ambition or the incapacity of the leaders on both sides?

Kant's essay rests upon the belief that men in civil life had attained sufficient intelligence to stop the privileged classes from substituting a war of tariffs for a war of armies. It could not have occurred to a man of such power of thought as Kant, that men and nations, after having attained a vision of liberty, of peace, of order and of mutual service, could be so misled as to pervert the power of taxation to purposes of private gain. Yet this phase of economic folly had to be passed through during the last hundred years, and has not yet spent its force.

INVENTORS IN THE ART OF WAR CIVILIANS.

There has been, however, a yet more potent force exerted by mechanics in pursuit of gain, which may put a stop to war sooner than the practice of regular commerce may do so. It will be observed that all the great recent inventions in the art of war have been made by civilians; that is to say, by mechanics occupied in the pursuit of gain. Some minor inventions have been made by military men, but all the great inventions merely need the name of the inventors to be given to prove that the men of sufficient capacity to make great inventions in mechanical appliances have never taken to the pursuits of militarism. They have employed their tools to their own benefit, but have left it to others to apply them in the art of killing. Witness the list of great inventors: Whitney, Krupp, Remington, Maxim, Ericsson, Whitehead, Walmsley, Nordenfeldt, Hotchkiss, Colt, Mauser, Winchester, Armstrong, Laird, Gatling, Crump, Holland and all the rest — gun makers, ship builders and constructors of marine engines. Who invented the smokeless powder I know not; certainly not a military man.

It is a singular fact that the list of great soldiers and naval officers contains not one name of a great inventor in the military art, while the list of the great inventors of weapons and the constructors of naval vessels contains not a single name of any man who ever attained any considerable position in the use of their weapons or

their ships. Men of highest repute in their personal relations become officers in armies and navies, rendering as great service as men can render in wars which are in defense of liberty. Yet in this country, in which the principle of liberty and freedom from militarism has been more fully established than anywhere else, notwithstanding the present craze, men of inventive ability or of great administrative power find no permanent career either in the army or the navy. The service which they can render in occupations in which the leaders are sometimes called "captains of industry," and the rewards which they can readily attain in the arts of peace, draw them out of the army and the navy into the pursuits which contribute to the general welfare as well as to their own. The strictly military class, consisting of men who in foreign states can find no other career or who in this country choose and remain in the military profession, are seldom men of much capacity for other occupations. Many names will occur to you of those who had left the army and the navy before the Civil War, but who returned to it in defense of liberty. Many names could now be given of very able men who had left the destructive pursuits of the navy to take charge of great establishments of a constructive type.

INVENTIONS RESISTED BY MILITARY CLASS.

Any one who studies progress in the application of mechanical science to social conditions for the last one hundred years will find that the introduction of every one of these inventions in killing implements has been resisted for a time by the military classes. They have been very averse to changing their tactics and altering their military formations. They have not approved the necessity of giving up the leadership to the mechanics whom they have previously looked down upon as being engaged in a subordinate occupation. For instance, naval battles are no longer a question of seamanship: they have become a mere problem in engineering. The one who is sure to win in the naval contest is the one who has the best products of the mechanic arts in his ship and the most intelligent mechanics to work them. He must possess enough seamanship to get his ship into the right position, but there he gives way to the mechanic who works the whole interior mechanism of the vessel and its guns. Without the skilled engineer and mechanic the admiral is powerless.

It is to be hoped and may be expected that one or the other of the submarine boats now in progress of development by mechanics, and now being forced upon the naval officers of different countries against their will, will put all the modern battleships into a state of "innocuous desuetude." It is not a big job. None that have been in existence for more than ten years are now capable of any effective service, and all that are now being constructed will be relegated to the obscure harbors, like that of Bermuda, where they will not be within common view, even if the submarine boat is not already so well assured as to give them a safer position at the bottom of the sea. I went to Bermuda a few years since, where I found an out-of-the-way harbor to which Great Britain had sent the Confederate rams built by the Lairds during the Civil War, and a large number of out-of-date ironclads — in all about twenty-five million dollars' worth of old iron still in the form of ships that would not pay to take to pieces. It is fortunate that we have no obscure harbor where our obsolete vessels can be concealed from public view. Our waste cannot be concealed.

A recent picture in the *Graphic and London News* illustrates a grotesquely funny way of disposing of waste in naval construction. One of the great iron-clad battleships of which Great Britain was so proud but a few years since is represented as a target fitted up with dummy guns and dummy men, possibly having cost a million dollars. Twelve hundred yards away one of the bigger ships, the "Majestic," probably costing three times as much, is pictured firing at the other with modern weapons. The report goes on to say that almost the first shot would have destroyed nearly the whole crew had there been any but dummy men in the target, and within a few minutes the great iron-clad master of the sea of but a few years since was reduced to a helpless wreck. How soon will the "Majestic" become a target? Perhaps in ten years more or less. But what a pity the experiment could not have been carried out to its conclusion, dummies taking the place of men on the "Majestic" and a little microbe or submarine boat, burrowing its way under the sea at a trifling cost, knocking a hole in her bottom and sending her also to "innocuous desuetude" at the bottom of the sea.

WAR VESSELS SOON WORTHLESS.

The people of Great Britain are now trying to find out how many old hulks are listed in the active force of the navy that are fit for nothing but targets; also how many of the newer battleships are fitted with boilers of a certain type which the navy department adopted to the exclusion of others but a few years since, which are now found to be all but worthless.

Spain had a great navy on paper. What part of the navies of other countries is now of any effective service? Possibly a considerable part of those which have been constructed within the last five years. Possibly those which are now on the stocks in this country, upon which the recent Congress, being incapable of reaching any sound conclusion, has put upon a Boston lawyer of fair repute in his profession, without any experience in metallurgy, the responsibility of deciding whether or not to spend $500 a ton for thirty thousand tons of steel plate, say $15,000,000 in all; while in another department of the government, known as the Ordnance Bureau, it is hoped that some new guns now being tested will render the $15,000,000 worth of steel plates, or their counterparts on the ships of other countries, a useless encumbrance, of little avail in preventing the destruction of the ship from the shore batteries.

RETROGRESSION IN THE ART OF WAR.

The progress of invention in the art of killing has been accompanied by necessary retrogression in the conduct of war. In former times, when knight met knight face to face, there was an element of chivalry in the contest. When great forces met each other in battle array, manhood of a certain type was unquestionably developed. But as the mental energy of the inventor developed more effective and long-distance killing implements, calling for something more than mere courage in their use, the conduct of war was wholly changed. It no longer consists in an open or equal fight, but has degenerated into ambushing, spying, cheating, mislead-

ing and attacking in the back or on the flank. The fine art consists in getting a better gun or a more destructive implement, while depriving the opponent of an equal chance. Not only is the old battle array out of date, but every force now includes a great body of sharp-shooters whose business it is to get behind stones or heaps of dirt or up in a tree and to pick off the officers on the other side. Every trick and device that would be base in the conduct of commerce is not only justified, but is necessary in the conduct of war. What would dishonor a merchant gives glory to a general. The sagacious remark of a British officer regarding the Maxim gun is to the point. He said it was "the best gun for killing niggers that had ever been invented."

All wars are now wrong. They originate in a wrong attempted or done by one state or nation to another. Where the parties in any contest both act consistently with human rights, there can be no violence.

It is ignorance on the part of great masses of the people which betrays them to the false leaders who promote militarism, permit criminal aggression to be committed and unjustifiable wars to be conducted at their cost. But the progress which has put the tradesman and the mechanic in control of the art of war is gradually pervading great masses of the people of this country and of Europe, developing what has been called the "thinking bayonet." When the great body of the privates carry thinking bayonets, it will be useless for the military class to array them in contest with each other and order them to fight. They will rightly say, "We privates will not kill each other, and we refuse to engage in mutual slaughter. Our interests are the same. We desire to keep the peace and to exchange services, not bullets, each with the other. We mean to enjoy the abundance of modern life, free of the destructive taxation which you impose upon us.

POSSIBILITIES OF HIGH EXPLOSIVES.

I would not suggest to any of the masters of mechanical engineering here present to divert their attention from the kind of work in which they are now engaged, but if they can by the way improve rifles, guns or other killing implements or invent more destructive implements of war than have yet been devised, then Kant's vision of Eternal Peace may be realized sooner than most people anticipate. If we could only reach the point when whole fleets could be destroyed by a single impregnable and unsinkable warship, the peace of God might prevail upon the sea; and if an airship or some other invention may soon enable a few men from a high point of vantage to inflict the maximum slaughter on the opposing force, without loss to themselves, as in the late naval contest in Manila Bay, that will be a long step in overcoming the semibarbaric conditions of warfare as now conducted. Is there not reason to hope for these high attainments in the mechanic arts? You now have all the high explosives, with more yet to be invented. You have electricity, liquid air and other great forces on which only a beginning has been made in their application to the science of destruction. It may happen that ere long one of two results may occur in any given contest: First, both forces may be so completely shattered and destroyed as to disable both sides that engage in warfare without advantage to either; or, what we may hope for especially in this country, the means of defense will become so absolute as to render an attack by any other state or nation a surely suicidal enterprise. The final ending will, however, come in the progress of the higher education which will render the art of war an ignoble, if not always an immoral, pursuit.

POWER TO ENFORCE ORDER.

It is not here asserted that the great progress which is now assured in making implements of war more destructive will lead to non-resistance, or that it will do away with the necessity of applying force to the maintenance of order. On the contrary, it will give to the great commercial states of the world, which are now beginning to witness the benefit and the necessity of the "open door" to commerce on equal terms for all nations, the power to enforce order and to compel submission to international agreements. The beginning may be made upon the high seas by abolishing privateering and making private property free of seizure. The United States, Great Britain, Germany, combined with Russia, may enforce these rules against all the lesser nations. Russia is entering upon a great industrial development and is eager to lessen the burden of militarism. What more reasonable than that these great commercial nations should enforce international peace upon the ocean? In that way the sea power may cease to be destructive and may become constructive. Presently simple agreements may take the place even of the police of the seas.

In 1817 President Madison and the British Foreign Office made a simple agreement to forbid armaments upon the Great Lakes in order to avoid collision and to save expense. That agreement has kept the peace during the whole period; and yet the annual commerce of the Great Lakes exceeds that of the Mediterranean Sea.

The false theory that international commerce is in any part a war upon domestic industry is intellectually dead. It has no support in this country, except among men whose political convictions have become fossilized or else on the part of those who represent vested interests. The plan of asserting the policy of the "open door" in the East, while closing our own door by prohibitive duties against the West or the East, is becoming as absurd as it is injurious.

A Few Words About War.

BY EDGAR FAWCET.

From the New York World.

The instant that two powers attempt to murder their respective citizens they should be torn asunder by a stronger power — arbitration. There is no element of utopianism in this plan. It is absolutely feasible, and in some respects even more so than was the freeing of our own slaves, and again still more so than was the freeing of the Russian serfs.

Those who cry out against the impracticability of Socialism must find their sharpest conservative javelins blunted when they assail the would-be destroyers of war. There are many wise men to-day who see in human nature itself a mighty obstacle to the exploitation of socialistic creeds. But is there an honest, wise man in the whole world at the present hour who does not believe war a curse infinitely more easy to grapple with and extirpate than that of poverty among the masses?

Frederick the Great said that an army was like a snake and moved upon its belly. His comparison, though witty, was unjust to the snake, for he is a much cleaner being than an army. When he passes from place to place he does not trail filth after him, and when his fangs eject poison, their destructive energy is slight indeed compared with the frightful threat of disease, either imminent or active, which follows all armed forces.

Kings and rulers are, of course, largely blamable that war should still survive. But they, after all, are merely tools of the people's will. This hideous, persistent evil cannot be explained by a Bismarck, a German Emperor, a House of Commons or a President of the United States. Personalities and councils like these are but incarnate expressions of the popular will. They know it, and watch the fluctuations of public opinion as eagerly as a Wall Street gambler watches those of his office ticker. The days of "divine right" are no more. Even the Russian despot lives in hourly dread of assassination, and the Sultan of Turkey feels less safe in his lordly palace than a rabbit in its hutch.

Concerning slavery, imprisonment for debt, trial by jury and every important persecution which has afflicted mankind for centuries, all the progressive nations of the world have reached one amical conviction. Why then do they still delay the abolition of an iniquity like war? Are not the people wholly at fault? Individually, hosts of them see, as religionists, their hypocrisy, and, as moralists, their defiance of a sacred ethical law. But when massed together the educated and the ignorant are in hideous harmony.

The relief of Ladysmith turned London into one howl of jubilation for a day and a night. The relief of Mafeking wrought an effect still more turbid. Both occasions were an excuse for the most libidinous drunkenness. Thousands of those who roared and caroused could not have written three lines of decently spelled prose; many of them could neither have written nor read. Yet the educated looked on and enjoyed the mad saturnalia, and told one another that it was all a proof of imperial greatness!

Unhappily, the savage is not yet extinct in man. What he calls the impulse to fight for his country is too often precisely of the same sort which prompts him to kill elephants, tigers and other "big game." Of the private this is almost constantly true, except when the ghastly conscription drags him into service.

One of the saddest features of war is its horrible tyranny over the unlettered private. I saw a grand procession of cavalry troops here in London not long ago. Helmeted, plumed, bestriding glossy and mettlesome horses, riding with splendid grace and ease, brilliantly uniformed, specklessly gloved and booted, each horseman seemed a model of manhood. But suddenly it occurred to me that the least observable point about this radiant concourse was the faces of its members, and into face after face I steadily peered. There I found coarseness and vacancy predominant. Frequent smiles disclosed broken and discolored teeth, which dentistry might have saved from ruinous decay. Many a piteous letter written from South African battlefields will show how these ill-fated fellows have been trained to shoot, yet not to pull; to cut and thrust, yet not to think!

With the officers it, of course, is different. The spice of danger, the longing to "kill things," the un-deracinated savage, yet sways them as it sways their subalterns; but another factor, seldom clearly considered, enters into their bellicose motives. I mean ambition. Shakespeare calls it seeking the bubble reputation at the cannon's mouth. But in all European countries this kind of reputation is held far more valuable than a bubble. It is, indeed, the one most "honorable" path to high social distinction.

You marvel at the amount of courage and "nerve" in mankind which might be turned to better uses than any afforded by the spilling of human blood. We speak of a man as a "born soldier." The eulogy is seldom so complimentary as it sounds. He would resent being called a "born" maker of orphans and widows.

In the case of this dire pest the wisdom of the thoughtful sociologist has much to bear from raw and callow youth. "Oh, there's no fool like an old fool!" cries the latter, with a smell of gunpowder in its nostrils; and it is quite right. But only in the sense that experience should rob the old fool of all excuse for being such a fool as the young one.

London, August, 1900.

The Call for Peace.

BY ANNA M. WHITNEY.

The Muscovite has heard it ringing clear
Above the din of nations and of fear:
"Behold! the Eternal Right
Is no more the slave of Might,
And the earth shall find release
In my Peace!"

The cosmic forces rent the years in twain,
When the Immortal Spring gushed forth on Bethlehem's plain.
But along its silver stream
The tented armies gleam,
And the flood of life is red
With their dead.

Through darkest caves of heathenness it glides,
In mediæval fastnesses it bides;
Like Arethusa's fount
To the light of day shall mount,
When the cruel hearts of men
Turn again.

The thought of man is sickened with the insensate past,
And the dawn is brightening with a glory that shall last,
For the vision of the night
Shall at last be read aright,
And love shall conquer loss
By the cross.

No more the warrior clutching at his foes,
Reeking with hate into the Presence goes.
Many deaths there be to die,
Worst of all to vilify
Love of Fatherland
By a murdering hand.

Vain to worship under cross and dome
Unless mankind be brothers in one home;
The universe a folding wing
To guard the helpless and to fling
A note of hope and might
Into the night.

O blessed are the feet of them that bring
Good tidings of the coming joy, that sing
The sheathing of the deadly sword,
The tranquil empire of the Lord,
The peace he, leaving, gives,
And giving, leaves! — *From the Boston Transcript.*

New Books.

WAR AND LABOR. By Michael Anitchkow. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. 8 vo., 578 pages. Price, $5.00.

One hardly knows whether to call this book of nearly six hundred pages a treatise on peace or on economics. It is both. Its great thesis is free frontiers as a means of removing and avoiding international friction and developing international coöperation and friendship.

In part first, the author devotes himself to a refutation of the theory that "war will kill war," and the further theory that "legal relations, so firmly rooted in social life, will be transferred to international relations" and that "the institution of international courts will establish peace." He studies with most interesting details the history of war in ancient times, the decline of the military art in the middle ages, and its renewal in modern times. In his study of "international federation and justice" his treatment is much more superficial than where he attempts to show that war will not kill war, and his conclusion in the former case is as far of the mark as it is near in the latter. In dealing with the subject of the growth of international justice, he fails in both historic sense and proportion. This failure evidently grows out of the fact that he is an economist and prejudiced in favor of economic transformation as the only means of bringing about peace. An international tribunal, he thinks, will appear as the consequence, and not the cause, of the suppression of war. The Hague statesmen held a different and much more logical opinion, and we are much nearer to an international tribunal to-day than we are to free frontiers. Our author has little but ridicule to bestow upon the "vainglorious declarations" of the peace societies and congresses, the superterrestrial "fantasies" of the international jurists, and the "grave antics" and "hypocrisy" of the parliaments voting resolutions in favor of arbitration. One regrets in reading this portion of the work that he did not give to this subject the same comprehensive and critical investigation as to the economic phases of it.

In part second of the work, Mr. Anitchkow discusses the causes of wars formerly and now. Most of the old causes — religious and dynastic questions,— no longer operate. The causes to be feared to-day are "territorial disagreements and entanglements springing from trade rivalry." "Disputed territories and threatened trade represent a dangerous element in international affairs." "Custom-house limitations play their vexing part everywhere." These propositions he works out with much wealth of detail, with many illustrations from actual systems of taxes, custom-house practices, tariff changes, etc. In this part of the work there is an extended discussion of tariffs, free trade, protection, labor, increase of population, free transmigration and wages, in their relation to international peace. The author is thoroughly at home here, and handles "the disastrous battle of taxes" and the "freedom of transmigration" with real insight and breadth of vision. "The real, simple, natural Christian solution of the question of transmigration lies in the total freedom of the same." He finds fiscal tariffs little more commendable than protective tariffs, and believes that the short road to international friendship and peace is the entire sweeping away of custom-houses. He fails to appreciate the fact, however, that custom-houses are quite as much the effect of international jealousy and hatred as their cause, and that the same influences which are working toward free frontiers are those which the friends of peace are using for the inauguration of a system of international justice.

In part third, Mr. Anitchkow makes a plea for government help to national labor, not so much in the way of "premiums" or direct subsidies, as in the bettering of the conditions, the improvement of means of intercommunication,— roads and railways,— the steadying of the value of monetary tokens, the blending of municipal management with private initiative, the promotion of natural education, the complete internal union of labor in which both government and people share. "Let schools be built on the ruins of custom-houses."

His conclusions are that "free international coöperation joined with free social coöperation will abolish war, will gradually reduce the armies and fleets to very small numbers." "National independence and state sovereignty will be inviolable when all frontiers are free." "The inclination to capture disputed territories would decrease." "The Eastern question — that constant threat of European peace — will be solved as soon as free frontiers are instituted, for they will release the powers from the long-existing nightmare of war."

Mr. Anitchkow argues all his propositions at great length. The book is packed full of interesting historical material. In fact, he sometimes goes too far afield in gathering historical facts, some of which do not seem very germane to his general subject. The work would have been improved if it had been reduced to four hundred pages.

Some of the chapters are badly marred by the misspelling of proper names, particularly those treating of international justice, where Grotius, Bluntschli, Kamarowsky, Laveleye, Hindley, etc., are scarcely ever spelled rightly. Some of the English is unpleasantly foreign, and would have been much improved if the manuscript had been read by some one born to the use of English.

In spite of its defects of treatment and of mechanical execution, "War and Labor" is a most valuable addition to the literature of international peace, rich in suggestiveness, and deserves a wide reading.

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A COUNTRY WITHOUT STRIKES. By Henry Demarest Lloyd. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co. 12 mo., cloth, 183 pages.

The next best thing to visiting New Zealand and examining on the ground the workings of the compulsory arbitration law which has been in force there since January, 1895, is the study of this book by Mr. Lloyd. Indeed, for many persons, the book will be much better than a visit, for Mr. Lloyd's examination of the workings of the law was that of a sympathetic expert who knew how to look. The work is interesting from beginning to end. It goes into detail sufficiently to give life, but not enough to become wearisome. General principles are discussed, but continually from the point of view of actual conditions and results. The origin of the law, the woeful conditions which preceded its enactment, the objections to it, its imperfections in practice, the improvements found necessary, its effect in securing the wider extension of labor unions, the entire absence of strikes and lockouts under its operation, the general improvement in the condition of laborers, the prosperity of capital, the constitution of the Boards of Conciliation and of the Court of Arbitration, the method of conducting the arbitrations, the character of the judges and their decisions, are all traced by Mr. Lloyd in a fair-minded and discriminating way. The chapter on "A New Song of the Shirt" is most instructive, as setting forth the effectual destruction of "sweating" which the law has produced, and the general improvement in the condition of women workers. Mr. Lloyd does not claim that New Zealand, in its limited sphere, has solved the great industrial problems for the world; but he holds, and rightly we think, that it has pointed the way and shown the spirit in which the solution must be found. We heartily commend the book to all students of the industrial and social problems now engaging the attention of all serious minds.

Where Christianity has Failed

A gentleman of large experience and great clearness of thought, who is spending his summer on Gerrish Island, Maine, writes us as follows:

"It is most discouraging, and a very serious imputation upon our present Christianity, to see the acquiescence of even our best and most cultivated people in this war policy.

"Here we are at the mouth of this beautiful river, looking out upon the ocean dotted with the white sails of a peaceful commerce. Between us and Portsmouth are the remains of several forts and earthworks, built at great expense, never used, and now falling into ruin. And yet the government is now building another large fort, at very great cost, probably several millions, withdrawing several hundred men from useful and productive employment from three to five years. . . .

"At a large navy yard near by they are repairing some old vessels of very little use when repaired. There are also two Spanish hulks captured during the late war, of no use, which should be returned to the Spanish government.

"The whole community hereabouts, summer visitors and natives, are deeply excited by several warships sent down here to assist at a race of one of them for a purse of several hundred thousand dollars. All of this money is to be wrung out of our people, already overtaxed, and, as it seems to me, for no use whatever.

"Our country is now so populous, so rich, so ingenious, that no other nation would attack it, provided only that we treat them with the honesty and civility which we exercise among ourselves.

"It is painful to see the indifference among educated and nominally Christian people on this subject. They assent to the proposition that it is all wrong, but shake their heads and say it always was so and probably always will be so, can do nothing about it, are pleased to see their country equal to others on the field of battle and as a naval power. They pray daily, hear 'peace and goodwill' proclaimed weekly in the churches, but are ready to have money voted to conquer the Spaniards, Filipinos, Boers and Chinese.

"In the minds of sensible people Christianity has become Hypocrisy and a Failure, at least among nations. This has been well shown by Prof. Henry Sedgewick of England in the *Atlantic* for May, which I wish you would review. Excuse my long letter."

* * *

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ARTICLE I. This Society shall be designated the "AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY."

ART. II. This Society, being founded on the principle that all war is contrary to the spirit of the gospel, shall have for its object to illustrate the inconsistency of war with Christianity, to show its baleful influence on all the great interests of mankind, and to devise means for insuring universal and permanent peace.

ART. III. Persons of every Christian denomination desirous of promoting peace on earth and goodwill towards men may become members of this Society.

ART. IV. Every annual subscriber of two dollars shall be a member of this Society.

ART. V. The payment of twenty dollars at one time shall constitute any person a Life-member.

ART. VI. The chairman of each corresponding committee, the officers and delegates of every auxiliary contributing to the funds of this Society, and every minister of the gospel who preaches once a year on the subject of peace, and takes up a collection in behalf of the cause, shall be entitled to the privileges of regular members.

ART. VII. All contributors shall be entitled within the year to one-half the amount of their contributions in the publications of the Society.

ART. VIII. The Officers of this Society shall be a President, Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, an Auditor and a Board of Directors, consisting of not less than twenty members of the Society, including the President, Secretary and Treasurer, who shall be ex-officio members of the Board. All Officers shall hold their offices until their successors are appointed, and the Board of Directors shall have power to fill vacancies in any office of the Society. There shall be an Executive Committee of seven, consisting of the President, Secretary and five Directors to be chosen by the Board, which Committee shall, subject to the Board of Directors, have the entire control of the executive and financial affairs of the Society. Meetings of the Board of Directors or the Executive Committee may be called by the President, the Secretary, or two members of such body. The Society or the Board of Directors may invite persons of well-known legal ability to act as Honorary Counsel.

ART. IX. The Society shall hold an annual meeting at such time and place as the Board of Directors may appoint, to receive their own and the Treasurer's report, to choose officers, and transact such other business as may come before them.

ART. X. The object of this Society shall never be changed; but the Constitution may in other respects be altered, on recommendation of the Executive Committee, or of any ten members of the Society, by a vote of three-fourths of the members present at any regular meeting.

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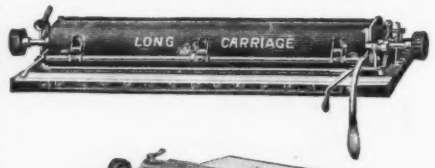

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